

# A LETTER TO CHARLES I OF ENGLAND FROM THE SULTAN AL-WALĪD OF MOROCCO

D. S. RICHARDS

AMONGST the many documents relating to the history of the Sa'dian dynasty of Sharīfs in Morocco, which have appeared in the volumes of the *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, there is a letter of the Sultan al-Walīd (reg. 1631-6) to King Charles I of England, presented in the only form in which it was known to de Castries, namely that of a Spanish translation.<sup>1</sup> This version of the letter belongs to a small collection of documents of the period of the Sharifian sultans, Arabic texts (both originals and copies) and translations, preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The old catalogue,<sup>2</sup> published at the end of the seventeenth century, contained a reference (under no. 3210) to *four* original letters to Charles I, but, by the time Nicholas came to compile his catalogue (vol. ii was published in 1835), one of these had been mislaid: '... sed hodie tres tantum reperiunter'.<sup>3</sup> De Castries rightly conjectured that the missing letter could well have been the original of the Spanish translation he published in his collection.

The Arabic original has come to light in recent years and shows that the translation was somewhat of a paraphrase, or rather a re-expression of the verbosity of the original, and at times inaccurate. Now catalogued in the Bodleian under the number MS. Arab. c. 39, the original letter is

<sup>1</sup> *Sources inédites (Angleterre)* (1935), iii. 170-3. The original of the Spanish translation is to be found in the Bodleian Library under the shelfmark MS. Arch. Seld. A. 72.6.(3), fol. 13. De Castries described it as 'Traduction originale', and if this was meant to mean that it was an official translation sent out with the Arabic version from the Chancery in Marrakesh, then the wording of the rubric and the layout of the document support this. The rubric reads 'Translation of the accompanying [letter] . . .', 'Traslado de la que aquy va del emperador de Berberia . . . al rey de la Gran Bretaña, el rey Jacob' (James for Charles is a scribal error), and it is dated 2 January 1632. The difference between this date and the date of the Arabic version, when converted by mathematical tables, may be explained as being due either to a local variation in the beginning of the lunar month (this could only be ascertained if the day of the week

had been given) or to the fact that the date given in the Spanish represents the date by which the translation had been finished and both documents dispatched together.

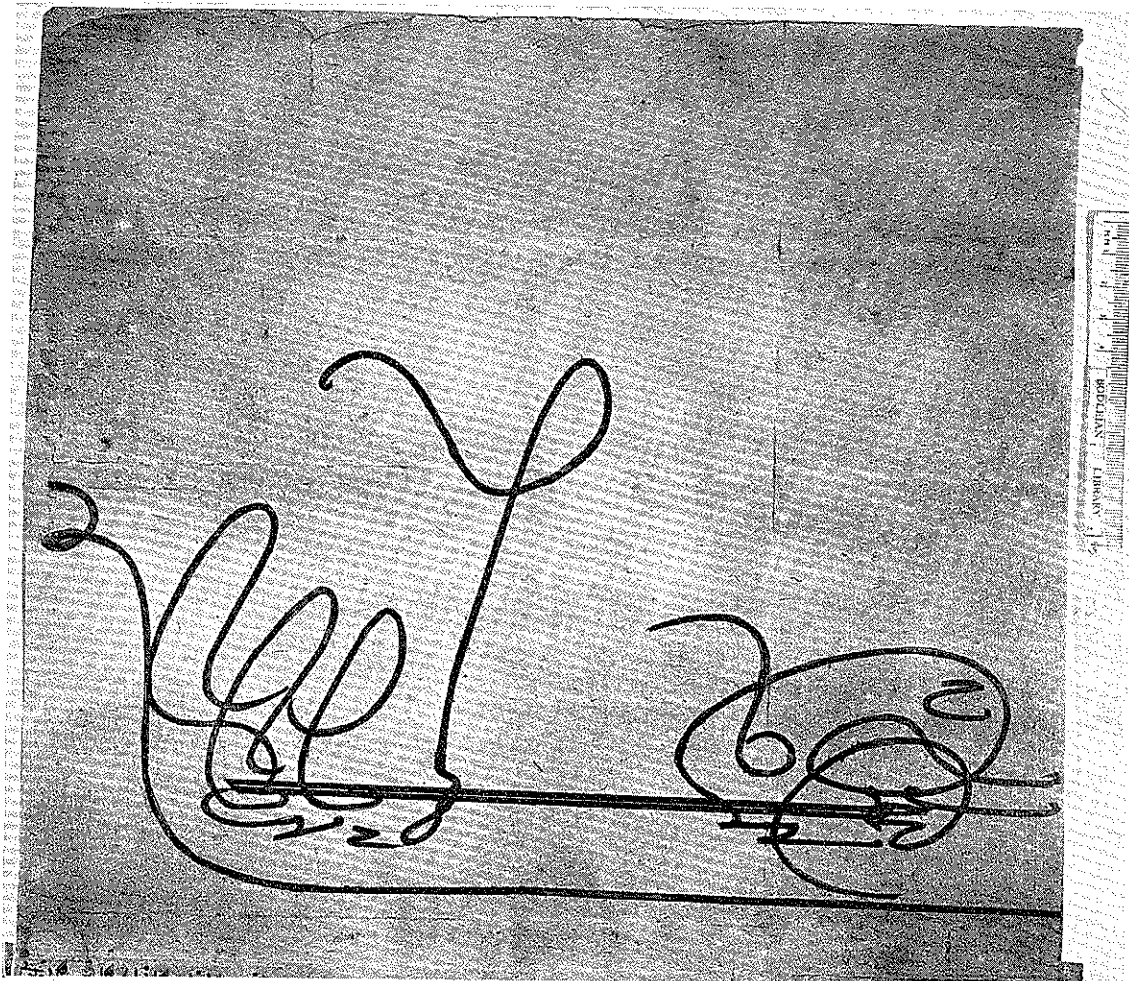
The paper of the Spanish version has no water mark that I can see. It is 68.5 cm. long and 24 cm. wide, made up of two pieces 34 and 35 cm. long, slightly overlapping. There is a margin 7 cm. wide formed by a fold on the left side, on which the text continues, making it in its layout a mirror image of the Arabic original. It is also folded laterally like the Arabic version in folds from 3.5 to 5 cm. wide, so could presumably have fitted inside the latter. See p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae . . . Oxoniae*, 1697, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, vol. ii, p. 402, note m.

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The 'alāma  
(Bodleian MS. Arab c. 39)

(By courtesy Bodleian Library, Oxford)



written on a single piece of brownish paper, attached to a piece of backing paper. The dimensions are as follows: length 58.5 cm., width 31 cm. There is a fold from top to bottom, which forms a margin on the right side 9 cm. wide. In this margin, and starting from the bottom, the last part of the text of the letter is written upside down. The whole document was folded laterally approximately every 7 cm. (See Plates I and II).

The various parts of the letter correspond broadly to the thirteen parts analysed by de Castries,<sup>1</sup> except that in this present case the 'alāma, the validating sign, begins the document: there is no *basmala* or any other invocatory formula, although it is always possible that some portion may have been lost at the top, for the present top edge of the letter is not even and shows signs of tearing.

The 'alāma is the large, involved convolute, as Stern aptly described it, well known from other extant Sharifian documents. This example is in gold leaf, outlined in ink, but executed rather carelessly and inaccurately, and without due regard for the proper interlacing effect of the script. De Castries very ingeniously proposed to read the Sharifī 'alāma as *al-ḥamdu lillāhi waḥdah*,<sup>2</sup> and this has been accepted in recent times by Stern,<sup>3</sup> who appears to hint that the Sa'dian Sharīfs, self-styled caliphs, consciously returned to the use of the 'alāma which had characterized the Almohad dynasty.

When deciphering the Sharifian 'alāma, de Castries admitted the existence of one element in the whole, apart from the three words of the formula of the *ḥamdala*, for which the reading was still problematical. In the final, developed form of the 'alāma, this is the element which starts at the right below the long double ligature and rises above it in a long curve and then a loop. After studying an earlier stage of development, represented by the 'alāma of Mulay (Mawlayya) 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālib on a document issued in A.D. 1561 de Castries came to be of the opinion that the *li-llāh* part of the *ḥamdala* was written in this position originally, and that later, when the *li-llāh* moved to its place in the centre of the 'alāma, a decorative remnant was left behind. This is his argument, and I do not find it particularly strong, granted even that one can accept his reading of *li-llāh* in the required position on the early document (Plate IV of his article). He claims 'que les écrivains de l'aalama, calligraphes beaucoup plus que lettrés, ayant perdu toute notion sur l'origine et la signification de l'aalama, ont reproduit l'ancien monogramme *lillāh*, alors qu'il avait été remplacé par un autre d'après une nouvelle disposition'. This is not a development I can readily believe in.

<sup>1</sup> De Castries, 'Le protocole des lettres des Sultans de Maroc', *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1912, pp. 286-96.

<sup>2</sup> De Castries, 'Les signes de validation des

Chérifs Saadiens', *Hespéris*, i (1921), 231-52.

<sup>3</sup> S. M. Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees* (London, 1964), p. 141.

There is, however, another element in the 'alāma, which de Castries did not touch upon, but which cannot be ignored: this is the one below, and at the left end of the long double ligature. Both this, and the previous one, may, I believe, be explained as repetitions, but not at all of *li-llāh*, rather of the other two words in the *ḥamdala*. The one to the right is *waḥdah* with the *h* written independently rather like a figure 6, and the one to the left is *ḥamd* (*sic*) with the *ḥ* also written independently. The repetition of words, which was accepted in principle by de Castries, could be considered a further development of decorative 'infilling', beyond the single letters *ḥ* found in the Almohad 'alāma.<sup>1</sup>

Before I give the full text and a translation it will be convenient to put the letter in its context by a summary of the historical situation and some other background material.

For some time since the beginning of the seventeenth century the territory subject to the authority of the Sa'dian Sharifs had been dwindling quite considerably. The capital, Marrakesh, and its port, Safi, generally remained in their hands, but Rabat and Salé were outside their control and subject to the authority of the Moriscos or the rebel marabout, al-'Ayyāshī. To the south, the area of Sūs was controlled by the rebel 'Alī ibn Mūsā.

The English tried to keep all their trading options open and to remain on good terms with all, especially for the security of their shipping. The same aim can be seen behind the missions of other European powers, for example, those sent in this period by the Estates-General of the United Provinces. Of one of these missions it has recently been written that it manifested 'un simple témoignage du désir . . . d'entretenir de bonnes relations avec toutes les autorités du Maroc avec les corsaires de Salé comme avec le Sultan de Marrakesh'.<sup>2</sup>

The man who tried to maintain these good relations on England's behalf was John Harrison. In the period 1610-34 and throughout eight separate voyages to Morocco he laboured, largely unsuccessfully, to encourage trade, free English captives, and engineer reliable treaties and alliances, a task made difficult by the lack of a unified political authority on one side and the activities of English pirates on the other.

His first four voyages (1610-18) were made in the service of James I, and then, after an interlude of unsuccessful involvement in European politics and fortune-seeking in America, the remaining four, starting in 1625, were at the command of Charles I.<sup>3</sup>

In this second stage of his role in Anglo-Moroccan affairs John Harrison

<sup>1</sup> Tisserand and Wiet, 'Une lettre de l'Almohade Murtaḍā au Pape Innocent IV', *Hespéris*, vi (1926), 27-53, and plate I.

<sup>2</sup> J. Caillé, 'Ambassadeurs, Chargés de Missions

et Consuls Hollandais au Maroc à l'époque des Sultans Saadiens', *Hespéris-Tamuda*, xi (1970), 190.

<sup>3</sup> *Sources inédites (Angleterre)*, ii. 441-8, for a synopsis of John Harrison's career.

appears increasingly to have inclined towards abandoning the central power in Marrakesh and co-operating more actively and whole-heartedly with the rising provincial powers. Between 1625 and 1630 this would have had the particular purpose of gaining their willing aid against Spain, especially that of al-'Ayyāshī, and there was the further consideration that an accord with the corsairs of Rabat and Salé would have liberated the majority of English captives, although others were held by 'Alī ibn Mūsā and, of course, by the central Sultanate.

Having arrived back in England in September 1630 after his seventh mission, Harrison found Charles I still unwilling to ratify formal treaty relations with the powers in rebellion against Marrakesh. He accordingly expressed his views in a memorandum dated 8 October 1630, which was submitted to the King.<sup>1</sup> He reported the expectation of a speedy end to the Sultan 'Abd al-Malik's misrule, and that 'Alli will be King, whose government is cleane contrarie, verie civile and peaceable, but withall severe and just', and then he wrote further of 'Alī and also of al-'Ayyāshī in Salé, 'with whom Your Majesty hath more reason to hold correspondence than with this King ['Abd al-Malik], who on the contrairie holdeth your subjects still slaves, as his father did.'<sup>2</sup>

The situation was changed by the news of the accession of al-Walīd after the murder of his brother, 'Abd al-Malik, in March 1631. This offered hopes of better government, an end to the civil wars, and a chance for England to establish better relations with the central power. John Harrison submitted another memorandum on this subject to Charles I, dated 15 July 1631, and included the following: 'And especiallie it will be happie for those poore captives of our nation, whom this new King hath promised to releasse upon His Majesties letteres, as the marchantes factores there resident have written to the marchantes here, if withal some small present were sent, as is usual and will be expected . . .'<sup>3</sup>

Consequently, John Harrison was sent with a letter<sup>4</sup> from Charles I, dated 19 (new style 29) July 1631, the various points of which were answered in this reply from the Sultan al-Walīd, dated 7 Jumādā II, A.H. 1041/31 December, A.D. 1631, which is now presented in the original. When Harrison eventually returned from this eighth and last voyage in the following year, he presented to Charles I in May both the letter itself and a draft treaty,<sup>5</sup> which had been drawn up with al-Walīd. This was never ratified.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. iii. 129.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit. iii. 151-2.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. iii. 130.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit. iii. 174-8.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. iii. 150.

## TEXT

## الحمد لله وحده

1. صدر هذا المكتوب العلى الامامى الكريم المنصورى الخليفى الوليدى الهامى الهاشمى الفاطمى الحسنى المولوى
2. عن الأمر النبوى الشريف العلوى الذى دانت لطاعته الكريمة ممالكه الاسلامية وانقلدت لدعوته الشريفة الأقطار المغربية وخضعت
3. لأوامره العلية جبابرة الملوك السودانية وأقطارها القاصية والدانية لا زال نافذاً بعون الله ميسر المآرب ومطاعاً له بمنه فى المشارق
4. والمغرب ومالكاً بعز الله رقاب الأعاجم والأعارب الى الملك الذى له بين ملوك النصرانية والملل المسيحية القدر السامى المكان والعز
5. الشامخ الثابت الأركان ملك برطانية الكبيرة وفرائصة ويراندة السلطان كرئيس بين السلاطين الكبار الذين لهم على قلوبهم المكانة المكيئة والمنزلة
6. الرفيعة المنار أما بعد حمد الله الذى أرشد لمصالح العباد تفضلاً وانعاماً وأتمّ النعمة على أوليائه اتماماً والصلاة والسلام على
7. مولانا محمد الذى ارتضاه للنبيين اساماً وجعله للكون فاتحاً وللأنبياء ختاماً والرضى عن آله وصحبه الذين يبيتون لربهم سجداً وقياماً ويعملون فى حسم
8. مواد الفساد حساماً ومواصلة الدعاء لهذا الأمر العلى الامامى المنصورى الوليدى النبوى الحسنى بالسعد الذى تزدحم على
9. مورده العذب الأمانى ازدحاماً والعز الذى يبقى للاسلام الفخر الذى تستلم المعالى ركنه استلاماً فكتابتنا هذا اليكم من حضرتنا العلية وكبرى
10. خلافتنا المحمدية حمراء مراكش المحروسة بالله المحمية ولا ناشئ بحمد الله الا النصر الذى طافت بكعبته الآمال والصنع الجميل الذى تضرب به الأمثال
11. واليمن الذى كرم بمواقيته الاهلال والحمد لله على ذلك حمداً تكرم به المساعى وتنجح به الأعمال هذا وانه ورد على مقامنا العلى خديمكم الأنجب
12. جوان هرسون فوصل بخير وعافية وآمال ممتدة صافية فاقام لدينا مشمولاً بالانعام موصولاً بضروب الاكرام وأنزلناه بحيث يحسن به المستقر والمقام
13. تغدوا عليه خيراتنا وتروح على الدوام بعد ان مثل بين أيدينا وورد مورداً عذبا من رفيع جنابنا وأسلم كتابكم المصحوب معه الينا ففضضنا
14. ختامه وحططنا عن محياه الوسيم لثامه وعرضت على أسماعنا الكريمة فصوله وأحطنا علماً بما أعربت عنه فروعه وأصوله فأما ما



15. أودعتم فيه من تهنية مقامنا العلى بملكنا الأصيل وما اتمم عليه من الفرح بذلك والسرور حسبما تضمنه الاجمال منه والتفصيل والفوز من ذلك بأوفر
16. نصيب وقسط حاز من الحبور الحظ والتعصيب فقد شكرنا لكم ذلك شكراً لا يزال بلسان التنويه يتلى واعتبرناه لكم اعتباراً يبلى الزمان ولا يبلى
17. وأما ما أشرتم اليه من كونكم على المحبة المتوارثة عن الأسلاف والرغبة في تجديد رسوم المصافات التى ارتفع فيها بينهم الخلاف اذ هذا الذى
18. خلفته الجدود فهو أحق لمراعات العهود فقد علمنا ما بين الجميع من جميل المواصلة وحسن المجاملة واتصال المراسلة وتأسيس ذلك
19. يكون بما يذكر بعد ان شاء الله وأما ما ذكرتم ان من أسر بمملكنا العلية من نصارى الانكليز ليس لذلك وجه ولا سبب فاعلموا ان سبب ذلك وموجبه هو خروج التجار
20. الواردين من بلادكم وأهل طاعتكم فى غير مراسى مملكنا العلية التى أحدثها الخوارج بفيفاء من الأرض وركونهم فى ذلك الى الثوار على الذى بتزروالت ومرسى
21. ماسة وغيرها من المراسى المحدثه ويأتونهم بعدة وبارود كثير ورضاص وجميع السلع على أنواعها واختلاف أصنافها ويتعاطون معهم البيع والشراء
22. فيها ويتنكبون مراسى مملكنا العلية تقويةً للعدو بما ذكرنا ابتداءً لهذا الأمر الشنيع والشأن الفظيع الذى حرمت الملل والنحل ارتكابه ومنعت
23. شرائع أهل الأديان المتفرقة ملابسته وانتيا به فان نصارى فرانصة وفلمانك قبل انعقاد الصلح بيننا وبينهم كانوا يتباعدون من تلك المراسى المحدثه
24. بحيث لم يكن لهم قط بساحتها المام ولما كمل ما تأسس معهم من الهدنة بشروط منها البقاء على مباعده الخوارج وساحاتهم التزموا العمل بذلك الشرط
25. وتحروا الوفاء به والتمام فلم يبق من يرد على ساحة الشقى الثائر على فى مرسى ماسة وغيرها إلا أهل بلادكم وطاعتكم فكيف لا يكون لأسرهم حينئذ وجه
26. وقد تكلمنا فى هذا الأمر مع خديمكم الوارد على أعتابنا الشريفة بكتابكم وبيناه له بياناً شافياً فثبت لديه واتضح وتحققه وعرف ما ذكرناه وصدقته
27. ونحن لم نشك أن هذا الأمر لم يبلغكم على وجهه ولا حكمت المقادير باطلاعكم على كنهه لأنه لا يخفى على ذى سلطان وبه يحكم قاضى العقل أن الملوك وان اختلفوا
28. فى الأديان فانهم ينتضلون فى غرض واحد ومقصد غير متباعد ويشتركون فى بيت قصيد الملك وواسطة العقد الذى يتحلون به والسلك وهى السياسة

29. التي على قطبها مدار الأمور وباستقامتها صلاح الخاصة والجمهور فان شتمت تمام الهدنة واثبات المسالمة فلتأمرؤا تجار بلادكم أن لا يحمل أحد منهم عدّة
30. ولا يتعاطون بيعةً منه بارود ولا سلعة ولا غير ذلك ببلاد الخوارج لينقطع فسادهم كما كان يؤثر ذلك عن الأسلاف لأن أكابر الملوك لا يرضون لهمهم
31. الضمد
32. وفساد العامة
33. وعندكم من العقل ما تعرفون به
34. فضل هذا الرأي وتحمدون عاقبته من
35. مواصلة الأيدي واثبات المحبة والبقاء على العهد
36. وذلك بقطع تجار مملكتكم عن الخروج بالعدّة
37. والمكحل والبارود والرصاص ولوا في مراسى مملكتنا
38. العلية حسماً لمادّة الفساد الناشئة بذلك في البلاد
39. ومهمى احتجنا الى شيء من العدة المذكورة فأتانا نكاتبوكم في
40. شأنها ليتحرى التجار الواردين من بلادكم القصد بها لمقامنا العلى
41. وما لذلك من القيمة لا يلحقهم فيه غبن ان شاء الله وبه وجب الكتب اليكم
42. في سابع جمادى الثانية سنة احدى وأربعين وألف هـ

## TRANSLATION:

## PRAISE BE TO GOD ALONE

- [1] This exalted, Imāmī, noble, divinely aided, Caliphal, heroic, Hāshimī and Fātimī letter of the Lord al-Walīd al-Ḥasanī has been issued on his illustrious, Prophetic and 'Alid authority, to whose noble suzerainty his Islamic kingdoms are subject, and to whose illustrious summons the regions of the Maghrib are obedient, and to whose exalted commands the tyrant kings of the Sudan and their regions, both far and near have submitted—May his authority, with God's help remain effective, successful in its aims, and by His grace be obeyed in the East and the West, and by God's power be dominant over the necks of non-Arabs and Arabs! [From us] to the prince, who amongst the Christian princes and the peoples of Christendom holds a highly placed
- [5] position and lofty power, firmly based, the King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, the Sultan Charles, son of the great Sultans, who possess over their people firm authority and towering dignity.

Now, praise be to God, who through His favour and bounty has shown the way to His servants' best interests and perfected His kindness to His protégés; and blessings and benedictions upon our Lord, Muḥammad, whom

He chose as a guide for the Prophets and whom He made a beginning for Creation and for the Prophets an end; and God's approval be upon his family and his Companions, who throughout the night prostrate themselves before their Lord God and employ a sharp sword to cut down the stuff of rebellious mischief; and for this exalted, Imāmi, divinely aided, Prophetic authority of our Lord, al-Walīd al-Hasanī, let there be constant prayers for prosperity, around whose sweet source hopes and desires thickly flock, and for might, which preserves for Islam the glory, whose corner-stone noble deeds maintain.

[10] This our letter to you is from our exalted court, the seat of our Muḥam-madan Caliphate, our capital<sup>1</sup> of Marrakesh, the which may God guard and protect; by the grace of God nothing arises [here] but victory, around whose Ka'ba hopes process, and fair deeds which become proverbial, and prosperity which in its due seasons has ennobled new moons. Praise be to God for that—praise that is such that through it [our] efforts are ennobled and [our] deeds brought to successful completion.

To our exalted Presence has come your noble servant, John Harrison, well and in good health and with far-reaching, sincere hopes. He has taken up residence with us, encompassed by kindness and treated with all manner of generosity. We have lodged him suitably and well, and our beneficences constantly attend him day and night, after he presented himself before us and pleased our lofty Honour, and delivered your letter which he had brought with him. We pierced its seal and lowered from its fair face its veil, then its paragraphs were offered to our noble hearing and we took cognizance of what it expressed in general and in detail.

[15] The sentiments you delivered yourself of in congratulation of our exalted Presence on our secure succession, and the joy and happiness given you, according to the general tenor and the details of the letter, and of both your most abundant share and portion, comprising much intense delight, for that we express our gratitude, which will for ever be rehearsed by the tongue of praise, and we have counted it a favour we owe you, which will withstand time and not be effaced.

You alluded to your being disposed to the amity inherited from our ancestors, and of a mind to renew the forms of friendship, by which was banished all disagreement between them, since this is what our ancestors bequeathed, and it is better for the maintenance of treaties. We know what was between all in the way of good relations, friendly intercourse and constant correspondence. The re-establishment of this depends on what follows, if God wills.

You mentioned that for the imprisonment of Christian Englishmen in our exalted kingdom there is no occasion or cause. Know that the cause and

<sup>1</sup> De Castries maintained that the expression *ḥamrā' Marrākush*, frequently found in Sa'dian documents, should be interpreted as 'the royal palace of Marrakesh', with reference to the famous Alhambra of Granada, treated as an archetype for all such buildings (see his article, 'Du nom d'Alhambra donné au palais du souverain à Merrakech et à Grenade', *Journal Asiatique*, xvii (1921), 133-8).

G. Deverduin has produced earlier examples of the use of *ḥamrā'*, and has thrown doubt on de

Castries's interpretation, wishing rather to take the expression as meaning 'capital city . . .' (see his *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech* (Rabat, 1956), pp. 17-23, and the literature there cited, and *ET*<sup>2</sup> s.v. *Ḥamrā'*).

The origin of this use of *ḥamrā'* is not clear and the matter of its correct interpretation undecided. It is worth noting that the Spanish translation of our present document simply has '... de Marruecos la reservada de Dios y anparada'.

[20] reason for this is that merchants coming from your country, your subjects, come to ports other than the ports of our exalted kingdom, which the rebels have newly opened in the wild country, and thereby they support the rebel 'Ali, who is in Tazerwält<sup>1</sup> and the port of Māssa and other new ports. They bring them supplies, much powder, lead and all sorts and varieties of goods, and they trade with the rebels there. They neglect the ports of our exalted kingdom, thereby strengthening the enemy with the commodities mentioned, and producing this abominable business and hideous action, which all religions and sects are forbidden to commit, and to engage and indulge in which is prohibited by the laws of the adherents of diverse religions.

For the Christians of France and the Low Lands, before the treaty between them and ourselves was signed, shunned these new ports, so that they had no contact with them. When the treaty that was made with them was completed, on certain conditions, one of which was that they should continue to shun the [25] rebels and their centres, they undertook to abide by that condition and proposed to be faithful to it.<sup>2</sup> Thus there remained none who went to the court of the wretched rebel 'Ali in the port of Māssa and other places, except your countrymen and your subjects. How then should there be no occasion for their imprisonment?

We spoke on this matter with your servant, who brought your letter to our illustrious threshold, and gave him a comprehensive explanation, and he marked well, understood and gave credence to what we said. We do not doubt but that you did not hear of this matter correctly and that the fates decreed for you imperfect intelligence of it, because no prince can be unaware of what any sound judge will decide, namely that kings, though they differ in religion, strive towards one goal and a like purpose. They share the essence of kingship and the centre gem of the necklace that adorns them, namely governance, around which affairs revolve as on a pivot, and in the firm maintenance of which lies the welfare of the nobility and of the commons.

If you wish to conclude a treaty and establish peace, then order the mer- [30] chants of your land that none of them should take supplies, trade in powder or any other commodity, in the rebels' lands, that their wickedness may be cut short, for that was the tradition of our ancestors, because the interests of great princes do not allow them to tolerate malevolence and the wickedness of the people. You have sufficient wisdom to understand the superiority of [35] this view and you will praise its sequel, the joining of our hands, the establishment of amity and lasting friendship. That will come about by preventing your kingdom's merchants from sailing with supplies, cannon, powder and lead, even to the ports of our exalted kingdom, to cut short the wickedness that is thereby spreading in the land. Whenever we require any of the said [40] supplies, we will write to you on that subject, that the merchants from your

<sup>1</sup> Justinard, 'Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Archives Marocaines*, xxix (1933), 5, 9, and 13.

<sup>2</sup> For the text of the treaty between al-Walid and Louis XIII, dated 24 September 1631 at Safi, see *Sources inédites (France)*, iii, 414: 'Que les François ne traiteront avec les sujets rebelles de l'empereur de

Marocque . . .' See also op. cit. (*Angleterre*), iii, p. 172, note 3: 'Les Pays-Bas et la France avaient interdit en effet le commerce des armes avec les sujets rebelles du Sultan, mais cette défense n'était pas toujours observée.'